

MICHAŁ NÉMETH
Jagiellonian University in Krakow
michal.nemeth@gmail.com

KARAIM LETTERS OF JEHOZAFAT KAPŁANOWSKI. I. A CRITICAL EDITION*

Keywords: Karaim, critical edition, history of Karaims, morphological peculiarities

Abstract

This paper is a critical edition of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski's* (a Trakai-born Karaim-speaking Odessan) two letters written in Hebrew script that were sent in 1868 to Lutsk. The critical apparatus that accompanies the transcription and translation includes commentaries on each linguistic peculiarity or irregularity. The study is augmented by a glossary and facsimile, as well as brief historical comments on some of the persons mentioned in the text.

1. Preliminary remarks

In Németh (2012) we presented a linguistic analysis of a letter written by *Jehoszafat* the son of *Zacharja Kapłanowski*, a citizen of Odessa born in Trakai around 1813. It was sent from Odessa to Lutsk on 17th July 1868 to *Ichhak* the son of *Zarach Bezikowicz*, born around 1807. What is particularly noticeable in that letter is that its language contains both northern and southern Karaim morphological features of western Karaim, which, at first sight, suggested that it might be an example of far-reaching dialect mingling. When we went into the details, however, it was determined that the manuscript's language is in fact an example of how ably the author could switch between these two variants of Karaim.

* I would like to express my thanks to Anna Sulimowicz (Warsaw), who provided access to the analysed manuscripts and helped me to trace some biographical facts concerning persons mentioned in the edited material.

After the publication of this paper two further letters written in a similar manner by *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski* were found in the collection of the late Polish Orientalist *Józef Sulimowicz* (1913–1973), catalogued as numbers 44^{II} and 55^{II}. What links these three manuscripts, beside the author, is that they were sent to addressees living in Lutsk. Below, we present a critical edition of these two recently discovered letters. A detailed analysis of the grammatical features will be presented in the second part of the present study (Németh 2013).

2. General description of the manuscripts

Letter no 44^{II}

The manuscript is carefully written in partially vocalised semi-cursive Hebrew script used by Karaims, in pencil, on one side of a plain white 218 × 363 mm sheet folded into two halves. Afterwards, the sheet was folded several times to form an envelope. The address was written in Russian on the back of the sheet as follows: *Караимы Моше Мордковичу Турczyну Въ Г. Луцкѣ* [= To the Karaim *Mosze Mordkowicz Turczyn*, in the town of Lutsk]. The post office stamps inform us that the letter was sent on the 28th August 1868 and was delivered to Lutsk on 1st September 1868. Originally, there were three post office stamps on the envelope, but the third has been torn off together with the postage stamp.

Letter no 55^{II}

The second manuscript is written on both sides of a plain cream-coloured 175 × 215 mm sheet in semi-cursive Hebrew script in brown ink. It is partly vocalised and clearly legible. The upper-right hand corner of the sheet has been torn off, but the text itself is not very damaged. Some parts of the paper have become darker, but the structure of the ink has remained intact.

3. The date of the letters and the addressees' identities

The letters were written on 4th March 1868 (letter no. 55^{II}) and 27th August 1868 (letter no. 44^{II}) and were sent to *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz* (born around 1806, died around 1870) and *Mosze Abraham Turczyn* (died probably around 1868), respectively. Importantly, both addressees officiated as hazzans in Lutsk, one after the other (see KA 1932: 16).

Fortuitously, the precisely dated letters were sent in the year *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz* succeeded *Mosze Abraham Turczyn* as hazzan, which allows us to narrow down the date on which the succession could have happened: in letter no. 44^{II} sent on 27th August 1868, *Mosze Abraham Turczyn* is addressed as *hazzan* (see line 44:3), which means that the succession could not have taken place before that date.

This allows us to supplement what we have previously written about an unsigned open letter addressed to the entire Karaim community in Lutsk. In Németh (2011b: 217, fn. 486), based on extremely limited information, we claimed that the manuscript no. 2 (77) was sent “(probably the first quarter of) 1868”. There, we supposed that *Mosze Abraham Turczyn*’s name is missing from the list of 44 individuals attached to that particular open letter “as he had most probably passed away by then”. Since what we claimed about the date of that manuscript (i.e. the first quarter of 1868) still seems valid, and since now we have another source from August 1868 addressed to *Turczyn*, the only logical conclusion is that *Turczyn*’s name was missing from the list not because he had passed away, but because it was he in fact who was the author of the open letter, and he simply did not enter his own name on the list. This is all the more likely, as it is usual for a spiritual leader to address his community by way of open letters. Consequently, *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz*, addressed as כמ״ר *‘abbrev. the honourable sir and rabbi*’, must have been an auxiliary hazzan at that time, and not the chief hazzan as we previously asserted.

4. Transcription and translation

In the transcription provided below we have attempted to reconstruct the phonetic level of the texts – including the south-western forms which are transcribed as they would have sounded in southern Karaim. The palatality of the consonants in north-western forms is noted only if phonologically relevant.

We use the following symbols in our transcription: *a, b, b̃, c, ć, č, d, d̃, d̥, ʒ, ʒ̃, ʒ̥, ʒ̧, e, f, g, g̃, h, h̃, ħ, i, j, k, k̃, l, l̃, m, m̃, n, ñ, o, ö, p, p̃, r, ř, s, ś, š, t, t̃, t̥, u, ü, w, w̃, y, z, ź, ž, ž̃*. The palatality is indicated with *ć*. The symbols *d̃* and *t̃* are used only in south-western Karaim words to indicate palatal (or dorsal) *d* and *t* as opposed to palato-dental *d̥* and *t̥*. The letter *j* indicates [j]. The letter *l̃* indicates dental *l*. The letter *w* stands for what is today noted with *v*; in the 19th century its value varied between a glide [ɥ] and a labiodental [v]; we use *w* to unify the transcription of north- and south-western Karaim. In the latter dialect, *w* in the transcription stands for a sound that was pronounced most probably in three ways (depending on various factors): as a glide [ɥ], labiodentally [v], and even bilabially [β]. For a detailed argumentation see Németh (2011a: 94–98).

Slavonic insertions are transcribed as they originally sounded in the respective languages. The Hebrew interpolations are transliterated in italic letters. Additionally, the abbreviations are explained in the footnotes when they first occur in the respective manuscripts, but neither the Hebrew interpolations nor the abbreviations are included in the glossary. The translation of the linguistic material, in both Hebrew and Karaim, follows the transcriptions. We have briefly commented on the less well-known grammatical peculiarities in the footnotes.

Letter no. 44^{II}

Transcription

- [1] *bh*¹
 [2] 1868. awgust 27. *b'wdss*.
 [3] *'hwby ydydy kmr² mšh hñzn whmlmd twrsyn yšw³*
 [4] *Biṭik jazyłhan Łokszyński⁴, Magas, Kaliski da Firkowicznyn podpisałyba*
 [5] *awgust 8. ḏa⁵ jeṭfi kołuma, a biṭik ne jazdyjyz bḥdš sywn, baryba kořmāḏim*
 [6] *da biłmimiñ⁶, haḥ ne jazasyz ki ijmāška aḫčany kołuna r⁷ Jeszuanyñ, a*
 [7] *km⁸ Szalom Kaliskiḡa, ham km⁸ Szelomo Magasga⁹. Meñ ajtym¹⁰*
kawodunuzga¹¹
 [8] *duhrusun¹², ki meñ Łuckada haḥ kišiniḏe tanymym¹³, bo uže 20. jył nečik¹⁴*
eḏim
 [9] *Łuckada. Mana hep bir, hepši iji da duhru adamłar. No biṭiklařḏaḏ*
 [10] *kořabiž, ki kahał ajryłhan ekiḡa, da bir jan ekiñči učuñ jaman jazady, to*
 [11] *biłmibiž¹⁵ kimḡa inanma. Aḫča bardy neñi ijmā, da biłmibiž kimniñ*
 [12] *kołuna. A zatym km⁸ Josef hgbyr Mangubi yrw¹⁶ jazdy kawodunuzga ekiñči*
 [13] *biṭik, r Jeszua Leonowicznyn kołuna, ki jazmasanyz¹⁷ kimniñ adyna ijmā.*
To¹⁸ mtndbga¹⁹ artḡary ijam
 [14] *aḫčany, kołḡajyzga kořa burunhu biṭiḡijizḏa kołdujuz meñi jazma*
mtndbga
 [15] *koładohon bołušlux. Meñ kyłdym kołḡajyzny da kełḏi aḫča kołuna km⁸*

¹ *בָּה*: An abbreviation of Hebr. *בְּעֻזַּת ה'שֵׁם* 'with the Lord's help'.

² *כמ"ר*: An abbreviation standing for Hebr. *כְּבוֹד מַעֲלֵת רַבִּי* 'the honourable sir, rabbi'.

³ *צ"ו*: An abbreviation of Hebr. *יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ וְגֹאֲלֵנוּ* 'May his Rock [= the Lord] and our Redeemer preserve him!' or *יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ וְיַחֲיֵהוּ* 'May his Rock [= the Lord] preserve him and keep him alive!'.

⁴ *לוקשינסקי*: Unlike in Németh (2011b: 334, 338, 340), where it is always written with *samek* (ס). This suggests that in Lutsk Karaim the *š* > *s* dealearisation process could have involved, albeit sporadically, also the phonetic level of surnames. In J. Sulimowicz's catalogue (compiled for private purposes) the surname is read as *Luksinski* in the manuscript's incipit.

⁵ *ḏa* 8.: The locative suffix attached to *KarT*. *šegiz* '8'.

⁶ *בילמיני*: An abbreviated present tense form of *biłmijmniñ*.

⁷ *ר*: An abbreviation of Hebr. *רַבִּי* 'rabbi' or Kar. *ribbi*. The author refers to *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz*.

⁸ *כמע'*: The abbreviation very probably stands for Hebr. *מַעֲלֵת כְּבוֹד* 'honourable sir'.

⁹ *מגס גא*: It is unusual for the dative case suffix to be *-ga* instead of the expected *-ka*. The lack of the *g* > *k* assimilation in the suffix after voiceless consonant seems to be a specific feature of the orthography employed by the author. See also *Bezikowiczḡa* (44:26), *Szelomitḡa* (55:30), and *Babowiczḡa* (43:19; transcribed as *Babowiczka*) in Németh (2012: 143).

¹⁰ *אייתים*: An abbreviated future tense form instead of *ajtyrmyn*.

¹¹ *כבודונוזגא*: A south-western-type form. Its north-western equivalent is *kawodujuzga*.

¹² *דוגרוסון*: Pro: *duhrusun*. The *waw* in the suffix is clearly legible.

¹³ *טנימים*: A shortened present tense form instead of *tanymymjyn*.

¹⁴ *ניציק*: The use of *KarT*. *nečik* 'how' calques Pol. *jak* '1. as; 2. how; 3. (relative pronoun) when'.

¹⁵ *בילמיביז*: An abbreviated verb (present tense), pro *biłmijbiž*.

Translation

- [1] With the Lord's help [we shall achieve and succeed!]
 [2] 1868, 27th August, in Odessa
 [3] My dear friend, the honourable Rabbi *Mosze Turczyn*, the hazzan and the religious teacher, may the Lord and our Redeemer preserve you!
 [4] The letter written with the signatures of *Łokszyński, Magas, Kaliski*, and *Firkowicz*
 [5] on 8th August reached my hands, but the letter which you wrote in the month of Sivan I did not see at all
 [6] and I know nothing about [the issues] you now write about, [namely] not to send the money to the hands of Rabbi *Jeszua*, but
 [7] to the hands of the honourable sir *Szałom Kaliski* and the honourable sir *Szelomo Magas*. Let me say²⁰, sir,
 [8] you are right that I do not know anyone in Lutsk, because it is already 20 years since I was [last]
 [9] in Lutsk. There is no difference for me, [as for me] all of them are good and righteous people. But from the letters
 [10] we can see that the community is divided into two, and one side writes badly about the other one, so
 [11] we do not know whom to believe. There is money to be sent and we do not know to whose
 [12] hand to send it. So the honourable sir [and] esteemed master *Josef Mangubi* the Jerusalemite wrote to you, sir, another
 [13] letter, to the hands of Rabbi *Jeszua Leonowicz* [asking] wouldn't you write [to tell us] to whom [we shall] send [the money]. So, I am sending back, to a willing helper,
 [14] the money. According to your wish, in your first letter you asked me to write to a willing helper
 [15] asking for help. I have done as you requested and the money arrived in the hands of the honourable sir [and]

¹⁶ ירו': An abbreviation of Hebr. ירושלמי 'the Jerusalemite', a title given to those who have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

¹⁷ זימסאניז: A south-western-type verbal form, instead of KarT. *jazmasajyz*. The use of the negative verb in conditional mood calques Polish syntax, cf. *czy nie napisalibyście?* 'wouldn't you write?'

¹⁸ טו: The *dagesh*-like dot just next to *waw* seems to be a small stain, cf. this and the next word in the facsimile.

¹⁹ מתנדב גא: Cf. Hebr. מְתַנָּב 'volunteer', used with the Karaim dative suffix.

²⁰ אייטס: Literally: 'I will say'. The use of the future tense calques similar Slavonic expressions which introduce statements, cf. e.g. Pol. *powiem Panu, że* 'let me say to you; I will say to you', Russ. *я вам скажу, что* id.

- [16] *Josef hgbyr yrwnun*²¹, a hałe turat aχça. Zatym kabuł efip bu biñikñi
 [17] zaraz kahał jazsyn biñik *km' Josef hgbyr yrwga*²², niñdi zo. potpisba kiñga
 [18] ijmá aχçany ki duhruluχba ũłaškej²³, pogořećečlařga, 'nyymlařga'²⁴,
 [19] χazzanga, da tuǵallařma tuzatma kenesany. To zaraz neča juź rub. ijařbiź
 aχça,
 [20] *km' Icchak bkr*²⁵ *Zarach Bezikowicz*²⁶ da *km' Szałom bn Simcha Icchak*
Kaliskiñiñ
 [21] kołuna jazsejyz ki ijmá, to zaraz ijařbiź. Biñikli šoźlaři dostujuz kławčeu
 [22] jaχšynyzny²⁷, *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*.
- [23] *šlwm l'hwby ydydy km' Icchak bkr Zarach Bezikowicz!* Tabu eřamiñ ki ałattyj
 ki kabuł
 [24] ettiñiz²⁸ šekšań rubełni da artyhyn de, da jaχšy kyłdyjyz, ki kenesaga beřďijiz
 juź rub.
 [25] A kiñlar jaχšy kyłmydłar²⁹, ałarga jaχšy bołmast. *dšwł*³⁰ *Jehoszafat*
Kapłanowski.
- [26] Kołamyn bu biñikñi kořǵuźma kahałga, da *km' Icchak Bezikowiczga*³¹.
 [27] Bołujuz buřuñ kahał dostluχta, to teñfi da jaχšy duñja bołur
 bołušłuhujuzga.
 [28] *r Jeszua hłzn* jaman kyład, ki kořǵuźmiť³² biñiklařni kahałga.

²¹ ירונן: The *-nun* genitive case suffix is attached to the Hebrew abbreviation יר' (see footnote 16). The labial form of the suffix tells us that the abbreviation might not have been resolved in speech.

²² ירגא: The *-ga* dative case suffix is attached to the Hebrew abbreviation יר' (see footnote 16 above).

²³ אולשכי: The lack of double *yodh* at the end of the word is unusual – perhaps it is a slip of the pen.

²⁴ עניים לר גא: Cf. Hebr. עֲנִיִּים 'poor men' a plural form of Hebr. עָנִי 'poor, needy'; written with Karaim suffixes (pl. and dat.). The word is repeated in line 5 of manuscript no 55^{ll}.

²⁵ בכר': The abbreviation most probably means Hebr. בֶּן כְּבוֹד רַבִּי 'the son of the honourable Rabbi'.

²⁶ בויקוויץ: An unusual spelling, as in the vast majority of cases the vowel of the first syllable in Lutsk Karaim sources is noted with *yodh* (י), rarely with *ayin* (ע), see Németh (2011b: 331ff.).

²⁷ יחשיניוני: An eastern Karaim form which, in fact, could have appeared here as well as a result of a blend between KarL. *jaχšyzyzny* and KarL. *jaχšynyzny*.

²⁸ איטניני: A south-western Karaim form. We have not found KarC. **kabal et-* attested.

²⁹ קילמידלר: An abbreviated negative verb form *pro kyłmyjdyrlar*.

³⁰ דשׁוט': An abbreviation standing for the Hebrew greeting וְשׁוֹמֵר וְשׁוֹכֵחַ 'demanding his peace and success'.

³¹ גא בויכװיץ: The surname is incorrectly written (with the letter *waw* in the second syllable). The dative case suffix *-ga* (or, perhaps, *-ga*), instead of *-ka* is surprising, too. See also *Magasga* (44:7), *Szelomitga* (55:30), and *Babowiczga* (43:19; transcribed as *Babowiczka*, though) in Németh (2012: 143).

- [16] the esteemed master *Josef* the Jerusalemite, and now the money waits [to be sent]³³. So after you have received this letter
- [17] may the community immediately write a letter to the honourable sir [and] the esteemed master *Josef* the Jerusalemite, with some³⁴ 20 signatures [to know] whom
- [18] to send money in order to divide it justly between the victims of the fire, the poor,
- [19] the *hazzan* and [in order] to carry out [and] to finish the [building of the] *kenesa*. Then we will immediately send several hundred roubles of money
- [20] to hands of the honourable sir *Icchak* the son of the honourable Rabbi *Zarach Bezikowicz* and to the honourable sir *Szałom* the son of *Simcha Icchak Kaliski* –
- [21] if you write [to us] to send, we will send [it] immediately. [These were] the written words of your friend the one who wishes
- [22] goodness for you, *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*.
- [23] Greetings to my beloved friend, honourable sir *Icchak* the son of the honourable Rabbi *Zarach Bezikowicz*! Thank you, that you informed me that you received
- [24] the 80 roubles and the extra [money]³⁵, too, and you did well giving one hundred roubles to the *kenesa*.
- [25] And those who do not act well – they will not be fine. Demanding peace and what is good, *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*
- [26] Please³⁶, show this letter to the community and to the honourable sir *Icchak Bezikowicz*
- [27] May you, the whole community, be in friendship, and then God and the good people will be of help to you.
- [28] Ribbi *Jeszua* the *hazzan* acts badly by not showing the letters to the community.

³² כִּי־וֹדֻזְמֵיט: Erroneously written with *daleth* (ד) instead of *gimel* (ג). An abbreviated verbal form of *Kořužmijdir*. J. Sulimowicz transcribed the word as “Korđužmet”, suggesting a *-mejt > -met* abbreviation process. The latter interpretation, however, does not explain the well-documented *e > i* change (see our argumentation in Németh 2013).

³³ טורט: Literally: ‘stands’.

³⁴ גִּינְדִי: The meaning of KarT. *ñiñdī* ‘some kind of’ is influenced by Pol. *jakiś* ‘1. some kind of; 2. approximately, some, about’.

³⁵ אַרְטִיקֵין: The north- and south-western Karaim *artyk* and *artyx*, respectively, are not attested in this meaning, cf. KarLT. ‘1. the best; 2. more; 3. yet; 4. again; 5. (with negative verb) any more, no longer’ (Kowalski 1929: 158; Mardkowicz 1935: 10; KRPS 75, 76; Németh 2011b: 267). The meaning of the word is affected here by KarC. *artyq* ‘1. additional, superfluous; 2. surfeit; 3. more’ (KRPS 76).

³⁶ קולמין: Literally: ‘I ask’.

Letter no 55^l

Transcription

Page 1

[1] *bh*³⁷[2] *'hwby 'hy ydydy wr'y kmr*³⁸ *yšw'h šmw'l hmškyl hmkyn l'wnwwy[s]*³⁹[3] *Biṭiǧij kawodujnun jazylhan fēwraḥ 15. jeṭṭi koḥuma, ne ičin*⁴⁰ *tabu eṭaṁiṁ.*[4] *Meṁde kawoduna*⁴¹ *jazdym fēwraḥ 29., mart 1. km*⁴² *Josef hzqn yrw*⁴³
Mangubidan[5] *da ijdik 80. rub. macalyx Łuckanyn 'nyymlaṭiṁa*⁴⁴ *da eziṁdaṁ*⁴⁵ *6. rub.*[6] *Sara totaha, da ki šdqhdan*⁴⁶ *beṭma anar 3. rub. Išanamyn ki kylaṛs*[7] *koḥṭamny. Koḥamyn kawodunu*⁴⁷ *koḥma Sara totany meṁdaṁ, ki*
jamaṇamasyn[8] *ki az ijdīm aḥča, teṁfi koṛgej meṁim beṭgaṇiṁiṁi*⁴⁸ *Meṁ azaryde*[9] *beṭsaṁ meṁdaṁ kop čyhat, bo kop adamlaṛ bart kiṁga beṭma.*[10] *Sorunuz km*⁴⁹ *Abraham Hugelga, oḥ jomaḥlaṛ kawodunuzga, ki*[11] *biṭiklaṛ osubny jazmym*⁵⁰ *takož jamaṇamasynlaṛ, hywm qsr whmlkh*⁵¹[12] *mrwbh. Meṁ har kuṁ jazam*⁵² *biṭiklaṛ, fuwuḥ bir Łucka duṇjada,*[13] *boṭsejt ne fajdaḥ to jazhejdym, boš biṭiklaṛ biḥmim*⁵³ *jazma, da*[14] *šiwmim*⁵⁴ *kim boš da uzun biṭiklaṛ jazat. Oḥ iš boš adamlaṛha*[15] *fijišli. Szelomit totaha da koḥamyn kawodunu šalom beṭma. –*[16] *Jamaṇamasyn ki osubne biṭik jazmyjmyṁ bo*³⁹ *joxṭ waḥtym da jox neṁi*
*jazma[.]*³⁷ *בָּה*: An abbreviation of Hebr. *בְּעֻזַּת ה'שֵׁם* 'with the Lord's help'.³⁸ *כמרי*: An abbreviation standing for Hebr. *כְּבוֹד מַעֲלֵת רַבִּי* 'the honourable sir, rabbi'.³⁹ The upper left-hand corner of the sheet has been torn off; the final *tzade* is missing.⁴⁰ *איצין*: A south-western Karaim form. The north-western form is *iüčün*.⁴¹ *כבודונה*: A south-western-type form. Its north-western equivalent is *kawoduja*.⁴² *כמע*: The abbreviation stands very probably for Hebr. *מַעֲלֵת כְּבוֹד* 'honourable sir'.⁴³ *יררי*: The abbreviation stands for Hebr. *ירושלמי* 'the Jerusalemite' (a title given to those who have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem).⁴⁴ *עניים לרינא*: Cf. Hebr. *עֲנִיִּים* 'poor men' a plural form of Hebr. *עָנִי* 'poor, needy'; written with Karaim suffixes (pl., poss. 3rd sg., dat.). The word could have entered Karaim via Yiddish, cf. *Yidd. עָנִי* (pl. *עֲנִיִּים*) id. (Strack 1916: 130; Harkavy 1925: 350).⁴⁵ *אזיṁṁḍen*: A clear example of a blend between KarT. *əzurṁdaṁ* 'from myself' and KarL. *eziṁden* id.⁴⁶ *צדקה דן*: Cf. PBHebr. *צִדְקָה* 'alms, charity' (Klein 1987: 541). The word entered Karaim from Yidd. *צִדְקָה* 'act of benevolence' (Strack 1916: 158–159; Harkavy 1925: 350).⁴⁷ *כבודוני*: A corruptly declined south-western possessive form – instead of *kawodunnu*. Its north-western equivalent is *kawodujnu*. See the same form in line 15.⁴⁸ *ביṭiṭiṁiṁi*: The word *beṭgaṇ* was attested thus far only in the meaning 'data'. Here it means 'donation'.⁴⁹ *כמע*: The abbreviation stands for Hebr. *כְּבוֹד מַעֲלֵת* 'honourable sir'.⁵⁰ *יזמים*: An abbreviated negative present tense form of *jazmyjmyṁ*.⁵¹ *והמלכה*: Pro *והמלכה*, the silent *aleph* in this Hebrew word is erroneously dropped.⁵² *זים*: An abbreviated present tense form instead of *jazamyn*.⁵³ *בילמים*: A shortened negative present tense form pro *biḥmijmiṁ*.⁵⁴ *סיזמים*: A shortened negative present tense form instead of *šiwmijmiṁ*.

Translation

Page 1

- [1] With the Lord's help [we shall achieve and succeed!]⁵⁶
- [2] My beloved kinsman, friend and companion, the honourable sir, rabbi *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz*, the respected, the knowledgeable!
- [3] The letter of yours written on 15th February reached my hands for which I thank you.
- [4] In turn, I wrote to you on 29th February and on 1st March we sent from the honourable sir *Josef Mangubi*, the Jerusalemite [and] the scholar [~ the aged]
- [5] 80 roubles for *matza*⁵⁷ for the poor people of Łuck, and 6 roubles from myself
- [6] to lady Sara, and [we wrote to you] to give her [an additional] 3 roubles as charity. I believe you will do
- [7] my request. I ask you to ask lady Sara not to be angry with me
- [8] for sending so little money, God sees my donation. Giving a little each time,
- [9] I give much,⁵⁸ because there are many people to whom to donate.⁵⁹
- [10] Ask the honourable sir *Abraham Hugel* about the stories [to be told] to you, not to
- [11] make me write separate letters – may they be not angry with me, the day is short, and the work
- [12] is great⁶⁰. [If there is a need] I will write letters every day, even more than one, to the people of Łuck –
- [13] if there was something useful, I would have written it; I cannot write idle letters, and
- [14] I do not like those who write idle and long letters. That [kind of] acting is characteristic of idle people.
- [15] I ask you to convey my greetings also to lady *Szelomit*.
- [16] May she be not angry that I am not writing a separate letter, because I have no time and there is nothing to write [about]

⁵⁵ בו: The word is written with a *shūrūq*, which should be treated as an error; the pronoun *bu* does not fit in the context. It is improbable that the difference between *bo* 'because' and *bu* 'this' has been effaced in north-western Karaim. The fact that *bo* is used with the meaning of *bu* in south-western Karaim (see KRPS 126) cannot be a proof in this case.

⁵⁶ בָּהֶ: The abbreviated Hebr. בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּׁם 'with the Lord's help' is a shortened version of the widely used collocation בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּׁם נַעֲשֶׂה וְנַצְלִיחַ 'With the Lord's help, we shall achieve and succeed!'.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ לִיק מַצָּה: Hebr. מַצָּה 'unleavened bread' used with the *-lyx* derivative suffix. 'Money for *matza*' is an uncertain, but probable, translation of *macalyx* especially in the light of the approaching holidays the author is writing about in line 29; as a parallel cf. לִיק הוֹצָאָה *hocaalyx* 'money for expenditures' < Hebr. הוֹצָאָה 'expenditures, expenses', used by the same author in a similar letter (Németh 2012: 143). For the semantic field of the derivative suffix in question see Zajączkowski (1932: 29–31). We treat the word as a loanword (and not as a Hebrew interpolation) because of the derivative suffix attached to it (being aware of the weakness of this criterion).

⁵⁸ כּוֹפִי צִיָּט מִיָּדֵי בִירֶסֶם מִיָּדֵי בִירֶסֶם: The literary meaning of this fragment is 'If I give a little each time, much goes out from me'.

⁵⁹ בוֹ כּוֹפִי אֲדַמְלֵר בִּרְט כִּימָגָא בִּירֶמָא: The second half of the sentence seems somewhat corrupted; one would expect grammatical constructions expressing 'to whom we can donate', 'to whom we shall donate', or the like.

⁶⁰ הַיּוֹם קָצֵר וְהַמְלָאכָה מְרֻבָּה: The sentence ends in a Hebrew saying that appears in the Mishnaic tractate of Pirkei (Mishna, Avot 2:15).

- [17] Bízďa Aďešťa bu jyľ néurožaj, uľľu baħalyχ, *mš' wmtn*⁶¹ joχ. Azatem
 [18] kibitľarda joχ orun uľanľaryna, bo aďešľifaľ da boš oľturadľar.
 [19] Zatym bu jyľny kaľsynľar orunľarynda. Mana inanmasľar, sorsunľar
 [20] Aďeš ũćuň *km' Abraham Hugelġa*. Meň ijaľniň koľu ašyra

Page 2

- [21] [*km' A*]braham Hugelġniň⁶² baχur Nisanha da baχur Szemoelġa⁶³
Twierdochlebowľar
 [22] [il]jilġaň upraχ kastor burnos 1., kara čekġmaň surdut 1., kara čekġmaň
 [23] majtkakaľ 2., daha triko majtykakaľ⁶⁴ 1., da 1. par majtkakaľ parusynowy
 [24] kamizelġakaľ 3. kartuzľar 2. Bary janhy tiwiľ⁶⁵ a kijilġaň. Kabuľ efip
 [25] ũľašmšimľar nećik biľadľar. Bu waχtta artyχ boľaľmym⁶⁶ boľušma.
 [26] *wľm šľwm dšwť*⁶⁷ *Jehoszafat Kapľanowski*.
 [27] *Rut* joľdašymdan, *r Josef* uwľumdan, *Zacharia* uwľumdan, da *Chana* –
 [28] kyzymdan kawoduna, da totaľarha šaľom, koľarynyzy öbadľar, aľej⁶⁸
 [29] tež šaľom karandašarha da tuwduxľarha, tynć moedľar tanry beřšniň.
 [30] Koľamyn kawodunu oχuma bu biľikġni *Sara* totama da *Szelomitġa*⁶⁹
 [31] '*lmnt' dwdw*⁷⁰ *km Szalom zl*⁷¹, inansynľar, ki bir biľik jazhynća
 [32] on iř turat, bunun ũćuň osubne jazmym, da aľar ne jazadľar
 [33] uzun biľikľar, anyde aľlamym⁷². *Jehoszafat*
 [34] *nħtm*⁷³ *ph b'wdss* 1868. mart 4.

⁶¹ מִשָּׁא-וּמְתָן: Yidd. מִשָּׁא-וּמְתָן 'business' (Strack 1916: 112; Harkavy 1925: 31).

⁶² A small fragment of the sheet was torn off, but the reconstruction of the missing fragment, here and in the next line, causes no difficulties.

⁶³ שְׁמוֹעֵל: The shape of the dative case suffix is unusual: we would expect *-ka* here. Cf. *Magasga* (44:7), *Bezikowiczġa* (44:26), *Szelomitġa* (55:30), and also בָּבוּוִיץ *Babowiczġa* (43:19; transcribed as *Babowiczġka*) in Németh (2012: 143).

⁶⁴ מַיְטְכָּלֶר: Pro *majtkakaľ*. The *-y-* is most probably an error or, perhaps, epenthetic. The word is written twice as *majtkakaľ* in the same line.

⁶⁵ טִיווֶל: A south-western-type form. Its north-western equivalent is *tuwul*.

⁶⁶ בּוֹלְלֶמִיִן: An abbreviated form pro *boľaľmyjmyn*.

⁶⁷ דְּשׁוּטִי: An abbreviation standing for the Hebrew greeting דּוֹרֵשׁ שְׁלוֹמוֹ וְטוֹבָתוֹ 'demanding his peace and success'.

⁶⁸ אֵלֵי: The use of KarT. *aľej* 'in a such way' in the collocation *aľej tež* 'as well as' calques Slavonic patterns, cf. Pol. *jak również* 'as well as'.

⁶⁹ שְׁלוֹמִית: The shape of the dative case suffix is unusual: we would expect *-ka* here. Cf. *Magasga* (44:7), *Bezikowiczġa* (44:26), *Szemoelġa* (55:21), and also בָּבוּוִיץ *Babowiczġa* (43:19; transcribed as *Babowiczġka*) in Németh (2012: 143).

⁷⁰ אֲדוֹדוֹי: An unusual Hebrew abbreviation. Perhaps it is the Hebr. word אֲדוֹנֵינוּ 'our master' written erroneously?

⁷¹ זֶל: An abbreviation for Hebr. זְכוֹרָנוּ לְבָרְכָה 'may his memory be blessed; of blessed memory'.

⁷² אֵלְלֶמִיִם: A shortened negative present tense verbal form pro *aľlamyjmyn*. The use of *shewa* under *mem* is a clerical error; *shewa* in Karaim native words was always *shewa quiescens*. We think, therefore, that the reading in J. Sulimowicz's catalogue as *allamem* is not applicable here.

⁷³ The second letter is hardly legible, it resembles כ, but, considering the context, it is probably Hebr. נֶחָתֵם 'signed, completed' written here.

- [17] There is a crop failure in Odessa this year, the prices are very high, there is no business. So
- [18] in the shops there is no place for her children [~ sons], because even the Odessans sit doing nothing.
- [19] Thus this year may they stay in their places. If they do not believe me
- [20] may they ask the honourable sir *Abraham Hugel* about Odessa. I am sending via the hand

Page 2

- [21] of [the honourable sir *A*] *braham Hugel* to the bachelors *Nisan* and *Szemoel Twierdochlebow*
- [22] the clothing sent: 1 castor⁷⁴ burnous⁷⁵, 1 black broadcloth frock coat, 2 [pairs of] black broadcloth
- [23] trousers⁷⁶ and also 1 [pair of] tricot⁷⁷ trousers, and 1 pair of trousers, 3 sailcloth
- [24] waistcoats, 2 caps. All of these are not new, but worn. After they receive [this clothing]
- [25] they may share it as they can. For the time being I will not be able to help more.
- [26] And peace be with them, greetings, *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*
- [27] Greetings from my wife *Rut*, from my son, sir *Josef*, from my son *Zacharia* and from *Chana*,
- [28] my daughter, to you sir, and to the ladies, they kiss your hands, as well as
- [29] greetings to [our] brothers and sisters, may God grant a peaceful holiday.
- [30] I ask you sir, may you read this letter to my aunt Sara⁷⁸ and to *Szelomit*
- [31] the widow of our master [?] the honourable sir *Szałom* of blessed memory, may they believe that until a letter is written
- [32] ten [other] issues appear⁷⁹ [and] that is why I do not write separate [letters], and I do not understand those who write
- [33] long letters, either. *Jehoszafat*,
- [34] signed here, in Odessa, 1868, 4th March

⁷⁴ כֶּסְטוֹר: Cf. Pol. *kastor*, Russ. *кастор* 'castor (heavy woollen fabric)'.

⁷⁵ בּוּרְנוּס: Cf. Pol. *burnus*, Russ. *бурнус* 'bornous (a long cloak with a hood)'.

⁷⁶ מַיִטְכֵּלֶר: Cf. Pol. *majtki* 'arch. man's trousers' (SWil I 628). It is difficult to determine the word's exact meaning – the one proposed seems the most probable. Besides 'men's trousers', Pol. *majtki* also used to mean 'sailor's garment', 'lower part of women's underwear' (this meaning is less probable here in the light of the material the *majtka*lar mentioned were made of), and 'short boy's trousers' (Boryś 2005: 311).

⁷⁷ טְרִיקוֹ: Cf. Russ. *трико* 'heavy woollen warp knit type of fabric' (Černych II 262–263).

⁷⁸ טוֹטאַמאַ: The 1st sg. poss. suffix suggests that this person was the author's relative.

⁷⁹ טוֹרֵט: The meaning 'come into existence, appear' (attested already in KRPS) of KarT. *tur-* 'to stand' appeared under the influence of Pol. *powstawać* '1. to stand up; 2. to come into existence; appear, emerge'.

5. Remarks on two persons mentioned in letter no. 55^{II}

Jehoszafat mentions two bachelors from the *Twierdochlebow* (vel *Twierdochleb*) family: *Nisan* and *Szemoel* (line 21). From the documents we found in AGKŁ (especially those based on the census record lists from 1834 and 1858) it transpires, however, that at the time the letter was written the only representatives of this family that could have been bachelors were *Nisan* (1840–1900) and his brother *Simcha* (1847–1909). The author most probably confused *Simcha* with the brothers' father *Szałom* or simply miswrote his name. “Lady *Szelomit*”, mentioned in line 15 is most probably *Szałom*'s wife, i.e. the mother of the two unmarried brothers – in the census records she is referred to as *Sonia Szimonowa* the wife of *Szałom*, born around 1816, died in 1874. Since the family was mentioned almost at the bottom of both census record lists, they were very probably poor. This is why *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski* begs for pardon as he cannot be of help in finding employment for the two boys in Odessa. Their poverty (and perhaps also because they probably suffered the most during the fire) is the reason why clothing is sent only to them.

Another issue that should be discussed is the identity of *Sara*, mentioned in line 30. The author addresses her as *totam*, i.e. he uses KarC. *tota* ‘1. older sister; 2. aunt; 3. word used for addressing older women’ (KRPS 539; for the meaning ‘aunt’ see Levi 1996: 104, s.v. *мѣтя*) with the 1st sg. possessive suffix. The latter suggests that *Sara* was *Jehoszafat*'s aunt (he had no sister). But in the census records we find no women with the name *Sara* mentioned among the members of the two *Kapłanowski* (vel *Kapłunowski*) families living in Lutsk, so the answer must be found elsewhere. In fact, there are three other families in Lutsk who could trace their roots back to the community of Trakai: the *Szpakowski*, *Pilecki*, and *Nowicki* families, but only in the first do we find a woman called *Sara*: *Sara* the daughter of *Simcha*, born around 1792, died before 1871⁸⁰. Her husband, *Ichhak* the son of *Mordechaj Szpakowski* died in 1842 and had no children. Her age fits in well with *Jehoszafat*'s age (born 1813): a person approximately 21 years older could have easily been *Jehoszafat*'s aunt. Moreover, she was also among the last persons listed in the census records with the addnotation that she is supported by her family. This, in turn, means that she could have required financial help from an Odessan relative.

Based on such biographical data we have reconstructed the word *tota* in line 30 as meaning ‘aunt’.

6. Glossary

The glossary contains all the Karaim linguistic material together with a brief morphological description and the spelling. Words written as one word with forms used enclitically are assigned to the relevant grammatical category as if they were noted without the enclitics. The latter are provided in brackets for the sake of transparency.

⁸⁰ Her name is missing from the document that lists all the deaths from 1871 onwards.

The nominal and verbal grammatical categories are organized as follows: nom., acc., gen., dat., loc., abl., instr. and inf., praes., fut., praet., imperat., opt., opt.praet., cond., cond.praet., part.praet. and conv. If attested, we indicate the government of a verb or postposition (in brackets). In the case of loanwords, we indicate the source language with a respective qualifier (in brackets). Appellatives and personal names along with geographical names are listed separately.

a, b, ḃ, c, ć, č, d, ḋ, d̈, ȝ, ž, ž̇, ž̈, e, f, g, ġ, h, ḣ, ħ, i, j, k, k̇, l, l̇, l̈, m, ṁ, n, ṅ, o, ö, p, ṗ, r, ṙ, s, š, ṧ, š̈, t, ṫ, ẗ, u, ü, w, ẇ, y, z, ž, ž̇, ž̈

6.1. Appellatives

a^I ‘but’ (Slav.) ♦ א [44:5, 16] ♦ א [55:24] ♦ אה [44:6]
a^{II} ‘(particle introducing statement) and’ (Slav.) ♦ א [44:12, 25] ♦ -א [55:17]
adam ‘man’ (Hebr.) ♦ PL, NOM: אדם לר [44:9] ♦ אדם לר [55:9] ♦ PL, DAT: אדם לר [55:14]
adešli ‘Odessan (citizen)’ ♦ PL, NOM: אד-אד [55:18] ♦ See also Adeš.
aχča ‘money’ ♦ NOM: אחצא [44:11, 15, 16, 19; 55:8] ♦ ACC: אחצאני [44:6, 14] ♦ אחצאני [44:18]
ajryl- (dat.) ‘to be divided (into)’ ♦ PART. PRAET: איירילגן [44:10]
ajt- ‘to say’ ♦ FUT.1.SG: אייטס [44:7]
aġar ‘they’ ♦ NOM: אָלר [55:32] ♦ DAT: אלרגא [44:25]
aġej ‘in a such way’ ♦ אָלֵי [55:28]
aġla- ‘to understand’ ♦ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: אָללמס [55:33]
aġlat- ‘to inform’ ♦ PRAET.2.SG: אללטטי [44:23]
artxary ‘back’ ♦ ארטחרי [44:13]
arty^I ‘surfeit, something extra’ ♦ POSS. 3.SG, ACC: ארטיהין [44:24]
arty^{II} ‘more’ ♦ ארטיק [55:25]
ašyra ‘via, through’ ♦ אשירה [55:20]
at ‘name’ ♦ POSS.3.SG, DAT: אדינא [44:13]
awgust ‘August’ (Russ.) ♦ NOM: אוגוסט [44:2, 5]
az ‘little, not much’ ♦ NOM: אז [55:8] ♦ DIS-TRIB: אזורי (-de) [55:8]

azatem see a, zatem
bahaŷyχ ‘high prices’ ♦ NOM: בהליק [55:17]
baχur ‘bachelor; young man (used as a title)’ (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: בחור [55:21]
bar ‘existing, in existence’ ♦ COPULA.3.SG: ברדי [44:11] ♦ ברט [55:9]
bary ‘everything’ ♦ NOM: ברי [55:24]
baryba (used with negation) ‘(not) at all’ ♦ בריבא [44:5]
bo ‘because’ (Slav.) ♦ בו [44:8] ♦ בו [55:9, 18] ♦ בו [55:16]
boġ- ‘to be’ ♦ NEG, FUT.3.SG: בולמסט [44:25] ♦ FUT.3.SG: בולור [44:27] ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: בולויז [44:27] ♦ COND.PRAET.3.SG: בול-סייט [55:13]
boġaġ- ‘to be able’ ♦ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: בוז-ללמין [55:25]
boġuŷ- ‘to help’ ♦ INF: בולושקא [55:25]
boġuŷluy ‘help’ ♦ NOM: בולושלוק [44:15] ♦ POSS.2.PL, DAT: בולושלוגיוזגא [44:27]
boš ‘idle’ ♦ NOM: בוש [55:13, 14, 18] ♦ ~oltur- ‘to sit in vain; to do nothing’ [55:18]
bu ‘this’ ♦ NOM: בו [44:16, 26; 55:30] ♦ בו [55:17, 19, 25] ♦ GEN: בונון [55:32] ♦ ~nun üčün ‘therefore, that is why’ [55:32]
burnos ‘bornous (a long cloak with a hood)’ (Slav.) ♦ NOM: בורנוס [55:22]
burunhu ‘first’ ♦ NOM: בורונגו [44:14]
ber- ‘to give’ ♦ INF: בירמא [55:15] ♦ ביר-מא [55:6] ♦ בירמא [55:9] ♦ PRAET.2.PL: בירדיז [44:24] ♦ IMPERAT.3.SG: בירסין [55:29] ♦ COND.1.SG: בירסם [55:9]

berǵań ‘donation’ ♦ POSS.1.SG, ACC: בִּרְגָנִים גִּי [55:8]
bił- ‘to know’ ♦ PRAES.3.PL: בִּילְדֶלֶר [55:25]
 ♦ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: בִּילְמִים [55:13] ♦ בִּיל-
 בִּילְמִיבִיז [44:6] ♦ NEG, PRAES.1.PL: מִימִין [44:11]
bir ‘one’ ♦ NOM: בִּיר [44:10, 12; 55:31] ♦ בִּיר
 [44:9] ♦ **hep** ~ ‘doesn’t matter; makes
 no difference’ [44:9]
biřik ‘letter (*epistola*)’ ♦ NOM: בִּיטִיכ [44:4;
 55:16] ♦ בִּיטִיכ [44:5, 13, 17; 55:31] ♦ PL,
 NOM: בִּיטִיכְלֶר [55:11, 12, 33] ♦ בִּיטִיכְלֶר
 [55:13, 14] ♦ POSS.2.SG: בִּיטִיגִי [55:3] ♦
 ACC: בִּיטִיכְנִי [44:16] ♦ בִּיטִיכ גִּי [55:30]
 ♦ בִּיטִיכְנִי [44:26] ♦ PL, ACC: בִּיטִיכְלֶר-
 גִּי [44:28] ♦ POSS.2.PL, LOC: בִּיטִיכְלֶרְדִּין [44:14] ♦ PL, ABL: בִּיטִיכְלֶרְדִּין [44:9] ♦ See
 also **biřiklŭ**.
biř ‘we’ ♦ LOC: בִּיזָדָא [55:17]
biřiklŭ ‘written’ ♦ NOM: בִּיטִיכְלִי [44:21] ♦
 ~li **sořlar** ‘written words’ [44:21]. ♦ See
 also **biřik**.
buřuń ‘whole’ ♦ NOM: בִּיוטוֹן [44:27]
čyχ- ‘to leave’ ♦ PRAES.3.SG: צִיַּחַט [55:9]
čekmań ‘broadcloth’ ♦ NOM: צִיַּכְמֶן [55:22]
 ♦ צִיַּכְמֶן [55:22]
da ‘and, too’ ♦ דָּא [44:4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 19,
 24, 26, 27; 55:5, 16, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30] ♦
 דָּא [55:6, 14, 32] ♦ דָּא [55:13, 15, 18]
daha ‘as well, additionally’ ♦ דָּהָא [55:23]
de (*used enclitically*) ‘1. (*intensifying parti-*
cle) even; 2. (*used with negation; particle*
introducing negation) even a; at all’ ♦
 די [44:8] ♦ דִּי [44:24] ♦ דִּי- [55:4, 8, 33]
 -**de** see **de**
dost ‘friend’ ♦ POSS.2.PL, NOM: דּוּסְטוּיוֹז [44:21]
dostlūx ‘friendship’ ♦ LOC: דּוּסְטְלוּקְטָא [44:27]
duhru ‘1. right, correct; 2. righteous’ ♦
 NOM: דּוּגְרוֹ [44:9] ♦ COPULA.2.SG: דּוּ-
 גְרוֹסוֹן [44:8]
duhruřlūx ‘justice’ ♦ INSTR: דּוּגְרוֹלוּקְבָא [44:18]

duńja ‘people’ (Ar.) ♦ NOM: דּוּנִיָּא [44:27]
 ♦ LOC: דּוּנִיָּא דָּא [55:12]
e- ‘to be’ ♦ PRAET.1.SG: אֶדִּים [44:8]
eki ‘two’ ♦ DAT: אִיכִי גָא [44:10]
ekińči ‘other; another’ ♦ NOM: אִיכִינְצִי
 [44:10, 12]
et- (*auxiliary verb*) (KarL.) ‘to do’ ♦ PRAET.
 2.PL: אִיטְטִינוֹז [44:24]
et- (*auxiliary verb*) ‘to do’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG:
 אִיטְמִין [44:23] ♦ CONV: אִיטִיפ [44:16]
ez ‘self’ ♦ POSS.1.SG, ABL: אִיזִיקְדִּין (KarL. ↔
 KarT.) [55:5!]
fajdały ‘useful’ (Ar.) ♦ NOM: פִּיידִלי [55:13]
fěwřal ‘February’ (Russ.) ♦ NOM: פֶּוֹרֶל
 [55:3, 4]
hafe ‘now’ (Ar.) ♦ הִלי [44:6, 8, 16]
ham ‘and’ (Pers.) ♦ הִלי [44:7]
har ‘every’ ♦ הֶר [55:12]
hep ‘all’ ♦ הֶפ [44:9] ♦ ~ **bir** ‘doesn’t matter;
 makes no difference’ [44:9]
hepři ‘all (of them)’ ♦ NOM: הִפְסִי [44:9]
ħazzan ‘Karaim clergyman, hazzan’ (Hebr.)
 ♦ DAT: חָזֶן גָּא [44:19]
ićin (KarL.) ‘for’ ♦ אִיצִין [55:3] ♦ See also
üćuń.
ij- ‘to send’ ♦ INF: אִימָא [44:11, 13, 18, 21]
 ♦ NEG, INF: אִימְסָכָא [44:6] ♦ PRAES.
 1.SG: אִימִם [44:13] ♦ אִימִין [55:20] ♦ PRAET.
 1.SG: אִיִּדִּים [55:8] ♦ PRAET.1.PL: אִיִּדִּיק
 [55:5] ♦ FUT.1.PL: אִיִּרְבִּיז [44:19, 21] ♦ See
 also **ijil-**.
iji ‘good’ ♦ NOM: אִי [44:9]
ijil- ‘to be sent’ ♦ PART.PRAET: אִיִּלְגֶן
 [55:22!] ♦ See also **ij-**.
inan- ‘to believe’ ♦ INF: אִינְנָמָא [44:11] ♦
 IMPERAT.3.PL: אִינְנִסְיֶלֶר [55:31] ♦ NEG,
 COND.3.PL: אִינְנִסְלֶר [55:19]
iřan- ‘to believe, to hope’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG:
 אִישְנִמִין [55:6]
iř ‘1. act, acting; 2. issue’ ♦ NOM: אִיש [55:
 14, 32]
jaχřy ‘1. good; 2. goodness’ ♦ NOM: יַחְשִׁי
 [44:27] ♦ ACC: יַחְשִׁינוֹזִי [44:22] ♦ ADV:
 יַחְשִׁי [44:24, 25]

jaman 'badly' ♦ ימן [44:28] ♦ ימן [44:10]
jamanla- 'to be angry' ♦ NEG, IMPERAT.3.SG:

ימנלמסין [55:16] ♦ ימנלמסין [55:7] ♦ NEG,
 IMPERAT.3.PL: ימנלמסיןלר [55:11]

jan 'conflicting' side, party' ♦ NOM: יאן [44:10]

janhy 'new' ♦ NOM: ינגי [55:24]

jaz- 'to write' ♦ INF: יזמא [55:13] ♦ יזמא

[44:14] ♦ יזמא [55:16] ♦ PRAES.1.SG:

יזמיימין [55:12] ♦ NEG, PRAES.1.SG:

יזמיימין [55:16] ♦ יזמין [55:11, 32] ♦ PRAES.3.SG:

יזמין [44:10] ♦ יזט [55:14] ♦ PRAES.2.PL:

יזמין [44:6] ♦ PRAES.3.PL: יזמיןלר [55:32]

♦ PRAET.1.SG: יזדים [55:4] ♦ PRAET.3.SG:

יזדי [44:12] ♦ PRAET.2.PL: יזדיין [44:5]

♦ IMPERAT.3.SG: יזסין [44:17] ♦ OPT.

PRAET.1.SG: יזגיידים [55:13] ♦ COND.2.PL:

יזמסאניז [44:21] ♦ NEG, COND.2.PL: יזסיין

[44:13] ♦ CONV: יזגיניצא [55:31] ♦ See also

jazył-.

jazył- 'to be written' ♦ PART.PRAET: יזילגן

[44:4, 55:3] ♦ See also **jaz-**.

jeř- 'to reach' ♦ PRAET.3.SG: יטטי [44:5] ♦

יטטי [55:3]

jox 'nonexistent, not existing' ♦ יוק [55:16,

17, 18] ♦ COPULA.3.SG: יוחט [55:16]

jołdař 'wife' ♦ POSS.1.SG, ABL: יולדשימדן

[55:27]

jomax 'story' ♦ PL: יומחלר [55:10]

juž 'hundred' ♦ NOM: יוז [44:19, 24]

yl 'year' ♦ NOM: ייל [44:8] ♦ ייל [55:17] ♦

ACC: ילני [55:19]

kabuł (Ar.) see **kabuł eř-**

kabuł et- (KarL.) 'to receive' (Ar.) ♦ PRAET.

2.PL: קבול איטטיניז [44:23–24]

kabuł eř- 'to receive' (Ar.) ♦ CONV: קבול

איטיפ [44:16] ♦ קבול איטיפ [55:24]

kahał 'community; Karaim (religious)

community' (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: קהל [44:10,

17, 27] ♦ DAT: קהלגא [44:26, 28]

kał- 'to stay' ♦ IMPERAT.3.PL: קלסינלר

[55:19]

kamizelka 'waistcoat' (Pol.) ♦ PL, NOM:

כמיזלכלר [55:24]

kara 'black' ♦ NOM: קרא [55:22] ♦ קרא [55:22]

karandař 'brother' ♦ PL, DAT: קרנדשלרגא

[55:29]

kartuz 'cap' (Slav.) ♦ PL, NOM: קרטוזלר

[55:24]

kastor 'castor (heavy woollen fabric)'

(Slav.) ♦ NOM: כסטור [55:22]

kawod (with possessive suffix) 'sir' (Hebr.) ♦

POSS.2.SG, ACC: כבודונו [KarL.] [55:30!]

♦ כבודונו [KarL.] [55:7, 15!] ♦ POSS.2.SG,

GEN: כבודויינון [55:3] ♦ POSS.2.SG, DAT:

כבודונו [KarL.] [55:4, 28] ♦ POSS.2.PL,

DAT: כבודונוגא [KarL.] [44:7] ♦

כבודונוגא [KarL.] [44:12]

koł 'hand' ♦ POSS.3.SG, NOM: קולו [55:20]

♦ POSS.1.SG, DAT: קולומא [44:5] ♦ POSS.

3.SG, DAT: קולונא [44:6, 12, 13, 21] ♦

קול [44:15] ♦ קולומא [55:3] ♦ POSS.2.PL,

ACC: קוללריניז [55:28]

koł- 'to ask, to request' ♦ INF: קולמא [55:7]

♦ קולמין [55:7] ♦ כולמין [55:7]

[44:26; 55:30] ♦ קולמין [55:15] ♦ PRAET.

2.PL: קולדוייוז [44:14] ♦ CONV: קולדוגון

[44:15]

kołtχa 'request' ♦ POSS.1.SG, ACC: קולטחם

גי [55:7] ♦ POSS.2.PL, ACC: קולטחיינוי

[44:15] ♦ POSS.2.PL, DAT: קולטחיינוגא

[44:14]

kyl- 'to do, to act' ♦ PRAES.3.SG: קילד

[44:28] ♦ NEG, PRAES.2.PL: קילמידלר

[44:25] ♦ FUT.2.SG: קילרס [55:6] ♦ PRAET.

1.SG: קילדים [44:15] ♦ PRAET.2.PL: קיל-

דיין [44:24]

kyz 'daughter' ♦ POSS.1.SG, ABL: קיזימדן

[55:28]

keř- 'to come, to arrive' ♦ PRAET.3.SG: כי-

לדי [44:8]

kenesa 'kenesa, Karaim temple' (Hebr.)

♦ ACC: כנסה גי [44:19] ♦ DAT: כנסה גא

[44:24]

ki (a conjunction introducing dependent

clauses) '1. (used with infinitive) to, in

order to; 2. that' (Pers.) ♦ כי [44:6, 8,

10, 13, 18, 21, 23, 24, 28; 55:16, 31] ♦ **כי** [55:6, 7, 8, 10]
kibit 'shop' ♦ PL, LOC: **כִּיבִּיטְלֶרְדָּא** [55:18]
kijil- 'to be worn' ♦ PART.PRAET: **כִּיִּלְגֶּן** [55:24]
kim 'who' ♦ NOM: **כֵּם** [55:14] ♦ PL, NOM: **כִּימֶלֶר** [44:25] ♦ DAT: **כִּימגָא** [44:11, 17] ♦ GEN: **כִּימגָא** [55:9] ♦ **כִּימגָא** [55:9]
kiši 'person' ♦ ACC: **כִּישִׁינְדִי** (-de) [44:8]
kławću 'the one who wishes' ♦ NOM: **כלווצו** [44:21]
kop 'much, a lot' ♦ NOM: **כּוֹפ** [55:9] ♦ **כִּיּוֹפ** [55:9]
kor- 'to see' ♦ PRAES.1.PL: **כִּיורבִּיז** [44:10] ♦ NEG, PRAET.1.SG: **כִּיורמדים** [44:5] ♦ OPT. 3.SG: **כִּיורגִי** [55:8]
kořa (dat.) 'according to' ♦ **כִּיורָא** [44:14]
kořguž- 'to show' ♦ INF: **כִּיורגוז מא** [44:26] ♦ NEG, PRAES.3.SG: **כִּיורדוזמיט** [44:28!]
kuń 'day' ♦ NOM: **כִּיּוֹן** [55:12]
macałyx 'money for *matza*' (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: **מצה לִיק** [55:5]
majtkła 'man's trousers' (Pol.) ♦ PL, NOM: **מִיִּטְכֶּלֶר** [55:23] ♦ **מִיִּטְכֶּלֶר** [55:23!]
mart 'March' (Russ.) ♦ NOM: **מָרְט** [55:4] ♦ **מֶרְט** [55:34]
moed 'holiday' (Hebr.) ♦ PL: **מועדלר** [55:29]
mén 'I' (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: **מִין** [44:7, 8, 15; 55:12] ♦ ACC: **מִין** [55:8, 20] ♦ **מִינְדִי** (-de) [55:4] ♦ DAT: **מִינִי** [44:14] ♦ GEN: **מִינִים** [55:8] ♦ ABL: **מִנְדִּן** [44:9; 55:19] ♦ **מִינְדִּן** [55:9]
no 'but' (Russ.) ♦ **נֹו** [44:9]
né 'what; which' ♦ NOM: **נִי** [44:5, 6] ♦ **נִי** [55:3, 13, 32] ♦ ACC: **נִינִי** [44:11] ♦ **נִינִי** [55:16]
něča 'several' ♦ **נִינְצָא** [44:19]
něčik '(relative pronoun) when' ♦ **נִינְצִיק** [44:8; 55:25]
něurožaj 'crop failure' (Russ.) ♦ NOM: **נִינְרוֹזִי** [55:17]
níndi 'some, about' ♦ NOM: **נִינְדִי** [44:17]
oxu- 'to read' ♦ INF: **אוחומא** [55:30]
ol '1. he, she, it; 2. that, those' ♦ NOM: **אֹל** [55:10, 14] ♦ ACC: **אֹנְדִי** (-de) ♦ DAT: **אֹנְדִי** [55:6]

oltur- 'to sit' ♦ PRAES.3.PL: **אֹלְטִירְדֶּלֶר** [55:18]
on 'ten' ♦ NOM: **אֹן** [55:32]
orun 'place' ♦ NOM: **אֹרֹן** [55:18] ♦ POSS.3.PL, LOC: **אֹרֹנְלִינְדָא** [55:19]
osubne 'separate' (Slav.) ♦ **אֹסֻבְנִי** [55:16] ♦ **אֹסֻבְנִי** [55:32] ♦ See also **osubny**.
osubny 'separate' (Slav.) ♦ **אֹסֻבְנִי** [55:11] ♦ See also **osubne**.
öp- 'to kiss' ♦ PRAES.3.PL: **אֹפְדֶּלֶר** [55:28]
par 'pair' (Slav.) ♦ NOM: **פֶּר** [55:23]
parusynowy 'of sailcloth' (Russ.) ♦ NOM: **פֶּרוֹסִינְוִי** [55:23]
podpis 'signature' (Slav.) ♦ POSS.3.PL, INSTR: **פֹּדְפִּסְלֶרִיבָא** [44:4] ♦ See also **potpis**.
pogořelec 'victim of fire' (Russ.) ♦ PL, DAT: **פֹּגֹרִילִיץ לֶר גָא** [44:18]
potpis 'signature' (Slav.) ♦ INSTR: **פֹּטְפִּס־בָא** [44:17] ♦ See also **podpis**.
rub. abbrev. 'rouble' (Slav.) ♦ NOM: **רֹוב־** [44:19, 24; 55:5, 6] ♦ See also **rubel**.
rubel 'rouble' (Slav.) ♦ ACC: **רֹובִיל נִי** [44:24] ♦ See also **rub**.
sor- 'to ask' ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: **סֹורֹונֹו** [55:10] ♦ IMPERAT.3.PL: **סֹורֹוסֹונְלֶר** [55:19]
surdut 'frock coat' (Slav.) ♦ NOM: **סֹורְדֹוט** [55:22]
šalom 'greeting' (Hebr.) ♦ **שָלוֹם** [55:15, 28, 29] ♦ **~ ber-** 'to greet, to send greetings' [55:15]
šekšan 'eighty' ♦ NOM: **סִיכְסֶן** [44:24]
šiw- 'to like' ♦ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: **סִיּוֹמִים** [55:14]
sož 'word' ♦ PL, NOM: **סֹוזֶרִי** [44:21]
tabu see **tabu ef-**
tabu ef- 'to thank' ♦ PRAES.1.SG: **טֶבו אִיטְמִין** [44:23] ♦ **טֶבו אִיטְמִין** [55:3]
takož 'also, too' (Ukr.) ♦ **טֶכּוֹז** [55:11]
tanry (Kar.C.) 'God' ♦ NOM: **טֶנְרִי** [55:29] ♦ See also **teńri**.
tany- 'to know, to recognise' ♦ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: **טֶנִימִים** [44:8]
tež 'also' (Slav.) ♦ **טֶיז** [55:29]
to '1. then; in that case; 2. so, thus' (Slav.) ♦ **טֹו** [44:13, 19, 21, 27] ♦ **טֹו** [44:10; 55:13]
tota (Kar.C.) '1. aunt; 2. word used for addressing older women' ♦ ACC: **טֹטָא נִי**

[55:7] ♦ DAT: טֹטָא [55:6] ♦ טֹטָא גָא [55:15] ♦ PL, DAT: טוטלרגא [55:28] ♦ POSS.1.SG, DAT: טוטאמא [55:30]
triko ‘tricot’ (Russ.) ♦ NOM: טְרִיכו [55:23]
tur- ‘to stand’ ♦ PRAES.3.SG: טורט [44:16] ♦ טורט [55:32]
tuwdux ‘sister’ ♦ PL, DAT: טובדוקלרגא [55:29]
tuzat- ‘to carry out’ ♦ INF: טוזטמא [44:19]
tynč ‘peaceful’ ♦ NOM: טִינֶץ [55:29]
teñfi ‘God’ ♦ NOM: טִינֶרִי [44:27; 55:8] ♦ See also **tanry**.
tijšli ‘characteristic of’ ♦ NOM: טִיִּישְלִי [55:15]
tuǵal- ‘to finish’ ♦ INF: טוּגַלְלָמָא [44:19]
tuwul ‘not’ ♦ טיוול [55:12] ♦ See also **tiwił**.
tiwił (KarL.) ‘not’ ♦ טיוול [55:24] ♦ See also **tuwul**.
ulan ‘1. child; 2. son’ ♦ PL, POSS.3.SG, DAT: אוּלְגֶרִינָא [55:18]

uĥu ‘great, huge’ ♦ NOM: אוּלְלוּ [55:17]
uprax ‘clothing’ ♦ NOM: אוּפֶרַך [55:22]
uwul ‘son’ ♦ POSS.1.SG, ABL: אוּבִלְמוּד [55:27]
uzun ‘long’ ♦ NOM: אוּזוֹן [55:14] ♦ אוּזוֹן [55:33]
uže ‘already’ (Russ.) ♦ אוּזִי [44:8]
üčün ‘about’ ♦ אוּצוֹן [44:10; 55:32] ♦ אוּצוֹן [55:20] ♦ **bunun** ~ ‘therefore, that is why’ [55:32] ♦ See also **ičin**.
ülaš- ‘to divide (between)’ ♦ OPT.3.SG: אוּלְ-שְכִי [44:18]
ülašin- ‘to be divided (between)’ ♦ IMPERAT. 3.PL: אוּלְשִׁינְסִינְלֶר [55:25]
waxt ‘time’ (Ar.) ♦ POSS.1.SG, NOM: וַחְטִים [55:16] ♦ LOC: וַחְטָא [55:25]
zaraz ‘immediately’ (Slav.) ♦ זרז [44:17, 19, 21]
zatem ‘subsequently, so’ (Pol.) ♦ אַזְטִים (*a-*) [55:17] ♦ See also **zatym**.
zatym ‘subsequently, so’ (Ukr.) ♦ זְטִים [44:12, 16] ♦ זְטִים [55:19] ♦ See also **zatem**.

6.2. Personal and geographical names

Abraham Hugel ♦ GEN: אַבְרָהָם הוּגִיל [55:21!] ♦ DAT: אַבְרָהָם הוּגִיל גָא [55:10, 20]
Adeś ‘Odessa’ ♦ NOM: אַדֶּס [55:20] ♦ LOC: אַדֶּסְטָא [55:17] ♦ See also **adeśli**.
Firkowicz ♦ GEN: פִּירְכוּוִיץ [44:4]
Chana [the daughter of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*] ♦ NOM: חַנָּה [55:27]
İcchak ♦ NOM: יִצְחָק [44:20, 23] ♦ See also **İcchak Bezikowicz**.
İcchak Bezikowicz ♦ DAT: יִצְחָק בִּיזִיכִיווִיץ [44:26] ♦ See also **İcchak**.
Jehoszafat ♦ NOM: יְהוֹשָפָט [55:33] ♦ See also **Jehoszafat Kapłanowski**.
Jehoszafat Kapłanowski ♦ NOM: יְהוֹשָפָט [44:22, 25; 55:26] ♦ See also **Jehoszafat**.
Jeszua ♦ NOM: יֵשׁוּעָה [44:28] ♦ GEN: יֵשׁוּעָה [44:6] ♦ See also **Jeszua Leonowicz**, **Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz**.
Jeszua Leonowicz ♦ GEN: יֵשׁוּעָה לֵאוֹנוּוִיץ [44:12] ♦ See also **Jeszua**, **Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz**.

Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz ♦ NOM: יֵשׁוּעָה שְמוּאֵל לֵאוֹנוּוִיץ [55:2!] ♦ See also **Jeszua**, **Jeszua Leonowicz**.
Josef [the son of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*] ♦ NOM: יוֹסֵף [55:27]
Josef ♦ NOM: יוֹסֵף [44:16, 17] ♦ See also **Josef Mangubi**.
Josef Mangubi ♦ NOM: יוֹסֵף מַנְגוּבִי [44:12] ♦ ABL: יוֹסֵף מַנְגוּבִי דֶן [55:4] ♦ See also **Josef**.
Kaliski ♦ NOM: קְלִיסְכִי [44:4] ♦ See also **Szałom Kaliski**.
Łokszyński ♦ NOM: לֹוקְשִׁינְסְכִי [44:4]
Łucka ‘Lutsk’ ♦ GEN: לוּצְקָא [55:5] ♦ LOC: לוּצְקָא [44:8, 9; 55:12]
Magas ♦ NOM: מַגֶּס [44:4] ♦ See also **Szełomo Magas**.
Mosze Turczyn ♦ NOM: מֹשֶׁה טוּרְצִין [44:3]
Nisan [Twierdochlebow] ♦ DAT: נִיסָן גָא [55:21] ♦ See **Twierdochlebow**.
Rut [the wife of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*] ♦ NOM: רוּת [55:27]
Sara ♦ DAT: שָרָה [55:6, 7, 30]

Simcha Icchak Kaliski ♦ GEN: שמחה יצחק [44:20]
קליסכנין

Szałom^I ♦ NOM: שלום [44:20]

Szałom^{II} ♦ NOM: שלום [55:31]

Szałom Kaliski ♦ DAT: שלום קליסכי גא [44:7]
♦ See also **Kaliski**.

Szelomit ♦ NOM: שלומית [55:15] ♦ DAT: שלומית
גא [55:30]

Szelomo Magas ♦ DAT: שלמה מגס גא [44:7]
♦ See also **Magas**.

Szemuel [Twierdochlebow] ♦ DAT: שמואל גא
[55:21] ♦ See **Twierdochlebow**.

Twierdochlebow ♦ PL: טוויִרְדּוֹחֶלְבּוֹו [55:21]

Zacharia [Kapłanowski] ♦ NOM: זכריה [55:27]

Zarach Bezikowicz ♦ NOM: זרח בזיקוויץ
[44:20, 23]

Abbreviations

abbrev. = abbreviated; abbreviation; **abl.** = ablative; **acc.** = accusative; **adv.** = adverb; **arch.** = archaic; **cond.** = conditional; **conv.** = converb; **dat.** = dative; **distrib.** = distributive numeral; **fut.** = future tense; **gen.** = genitive; **Hebr.** = Hebrew; **imperat.** = imperative mood; **inf.** = infinitive; **KarC.** = eastern (Crimean) Karaim; **KarL.** = south-western (Lutsk) Karaim; **KarT.** = north-western (Trakai) Karaim; **loc.** = locative; **neg.** = negative; **nom.** = nominative; **opt.** = optative; **opt.praet.** = past optative; **part.praet.** = past participle; **PBHebr.** = Post Biblical Hebrew; **pl.** = plural; **Pol.** = Polish; **poss.** = possessive; **praes.** = present tense; **praet.** = past tense; **Russ.** = Russian; **sg.** = singular; **Slav.** = Slavonic; **Ukr.** = Ukrainian; **Yidd.** = Yiddish.

References

- AGKŁ = *Archiwum Gminy Karaimskiej w Łucku* [= The archives of the Karaim Community of Lutsk; in private collection].
- KA 1932 = [Editorial note]. Ribbiłer kajsylar hazzanłyk ettiłer Łuckada basłap burunhu jarymyndan XIX izjiłnyn. – *Karaj Awazy* 3/5: 16.
- KRPS = Baskakov N.A., Šapšal S.M., Zajončkovskij A. (eds.). 1974. *Karaimsko-russko-polskij slovař. Słownik karaimsko-rosyjsko-polski*. Moskva.
- SWil = Zdanowicz A., Bohusz Szyszka M., Filipowicz J., Tomaszewicz W., Czepieliński F., Korotyński W., Trentowski B. 1861. *Słownik języka polskiego*. [vol. 1]. Wilno.
- Boryś W. 2005. *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Kraków.
- Černych P.Ja. 1993. *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovař sovremennogo russkogo jazyka*. [vol. 1–2]. Moskva.
- Harkavy A. 1925. *Yiddish-English-Hebrew dictionary*. New York.
- Klein E. 1987. *A comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Hebrew language for readers of English*. Jerusalem.
- Kowalski T. 1929. *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*. [= *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności* 11]. Kraków.
- Levi B.Z. 1996. *Russko-karaimskij slovař. Krymskij dialekt*. Odessa.
- Mardkowicz A. 1935. *Karaj sez-bitigi. Słownik karaimski. Karaimisches Wörterbuch*. Łuck.
- Németh M. 2011a. A different look at the Lutsk Karaim sound system (from the second half of the 19th century on). – *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 128: 69–101.
- Németh M. 2011b. *Unknown Lutsk Karaim letters in Hebrew script (19th–20th centuries). A critical edition*. [= *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* 12]. Kraków.

Németh M. 2012. A North-Western Karaim manuscript found in Lutsk – A case of dialect mingling? – *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 129: 139–161.

Németh M. 2013. Karaim letters of Jehoszafat Kapłanowski. II. Linguistic analysis. – *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis* 130: 259–276.

Strack H.L. 1916. *Jüdisches Wörterbuch mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der gegenwärtig in Polen üblichen Ausdrücke*. Leipzig.

Zajączkowski A. 1932. *Sufiksy imienne i czasownikowe w języku zachodniokaraïmskim (przyczynek do morfologii języków tureckich). Les suffixes nominaux et verbaux dans la langue des Karaïms occidentaux (contribution à la morphologie des langues turques)*. [= *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności* 15]. Kraków.

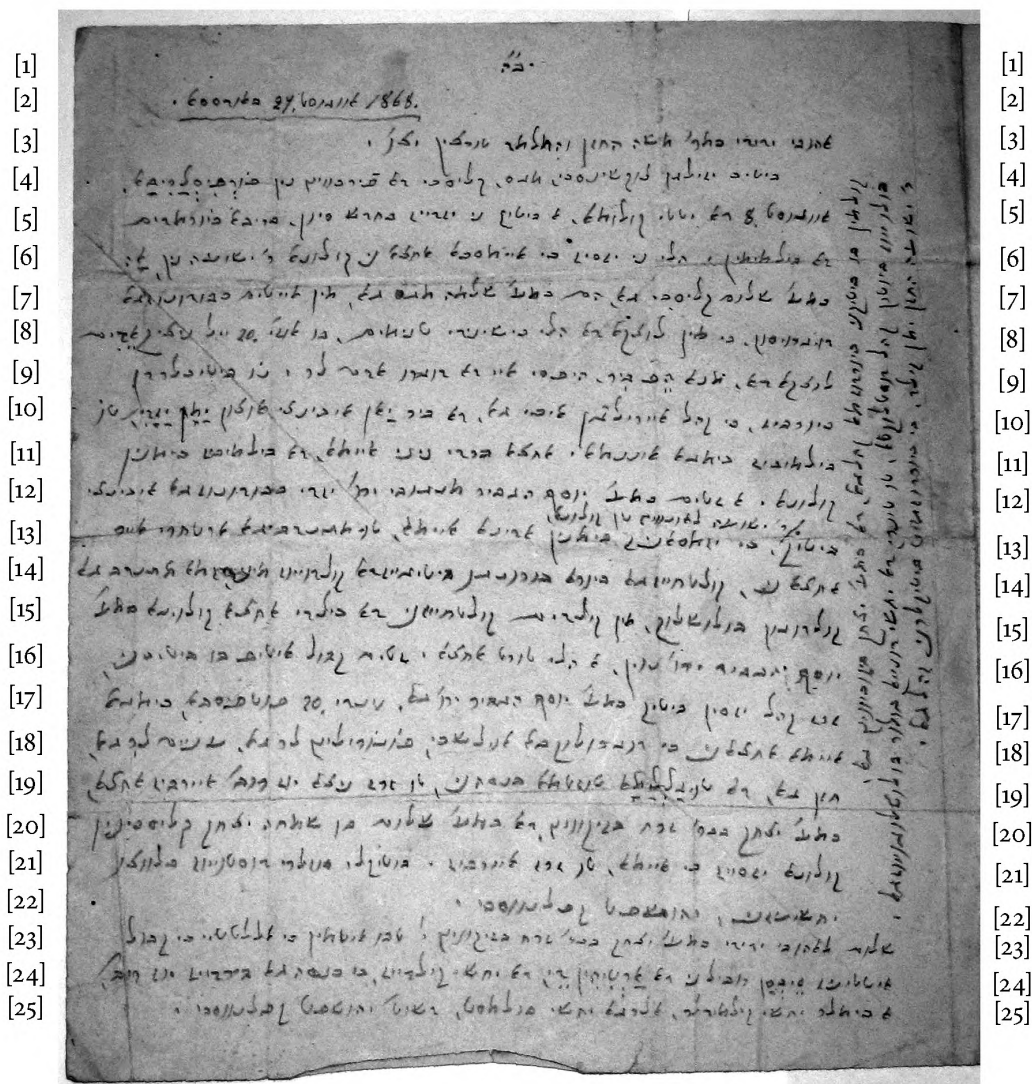
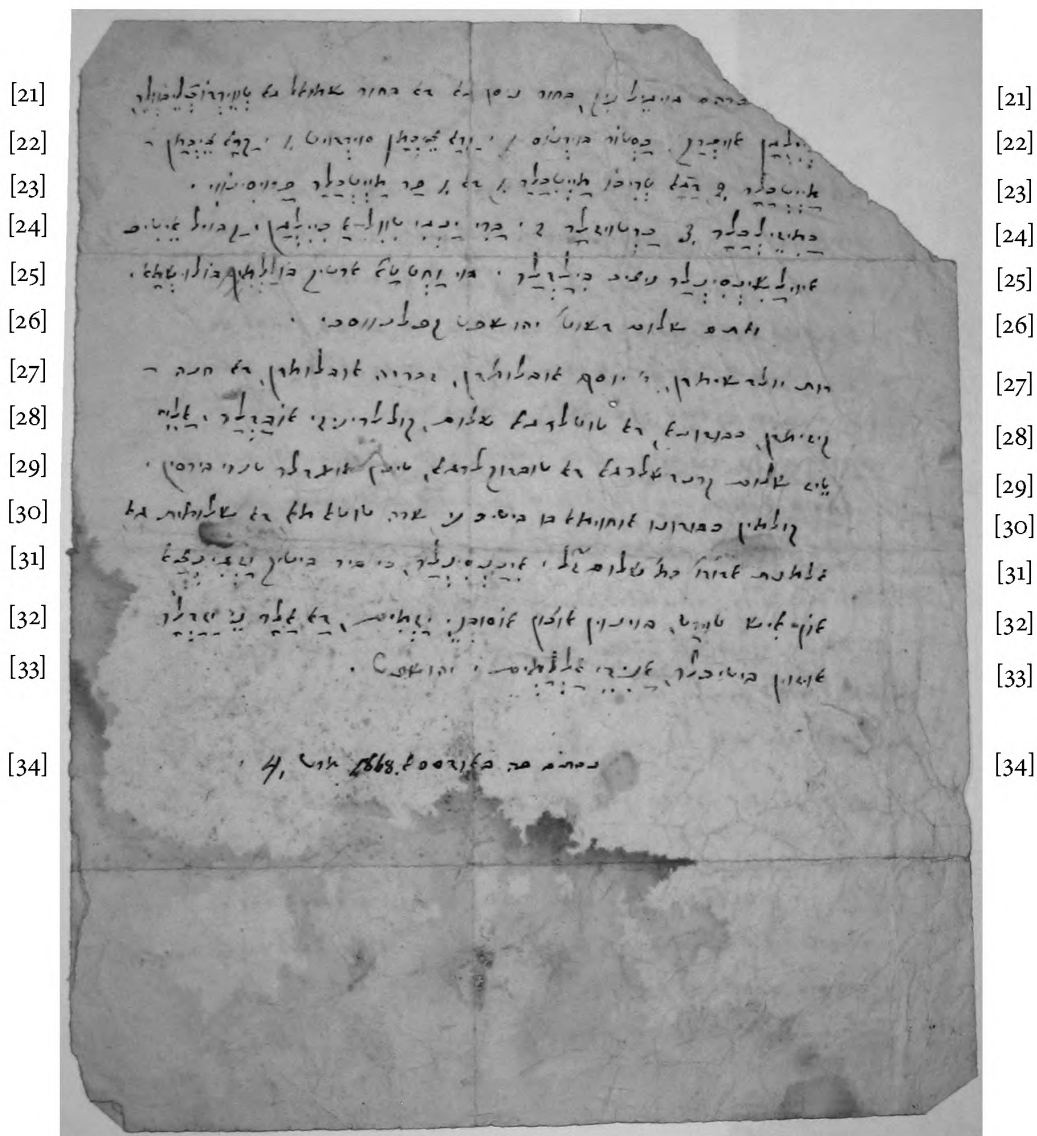


Figure 1. Catalogue number: 44^{II}. Page 1/1

- [1] [1]
- [2] [2]
- [3] [3]
- [4] [4]
- [5] [5]
- [6] [6]
- [7] [7]
- [8] [8]
- [9] [9]
- [10] [10]
- [11] [11]
- [12] [12]
- [13] [13]
- [14] [14]
- [15] [15]
- [16] [16]
- [17] [17]
- [18] [18]
- [19] [19]
- [20] [20]

Figure 2. Catalogue number: 55^{II}. Page 1/2

Figure 3. Catalogue number: 55^{II}. Page 2/2

Acknowledgement

This project was financed by the Polish National Science Centre (Narodowe Centrum Nauki), grant number DEC-2011/03/D/HS2/00618.